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Pilgrims, New York.

Speeches delivered at the  
dinner given in honor...

[New York]

[1920?]

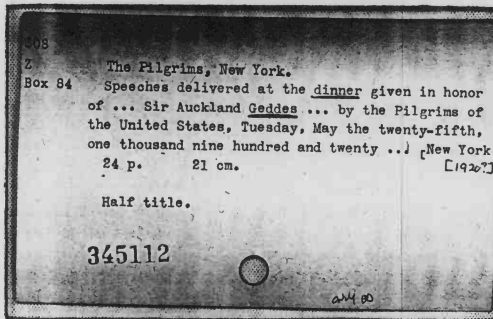
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*Speeches*

*delivered at the Dinner*

*given in honour of*

*His Excellency, the Right Honourable*

*Sir Auckland Seddes, K.C.B.*

*His Britannic Majesty's*

*Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary*

*to the United States*

*by*

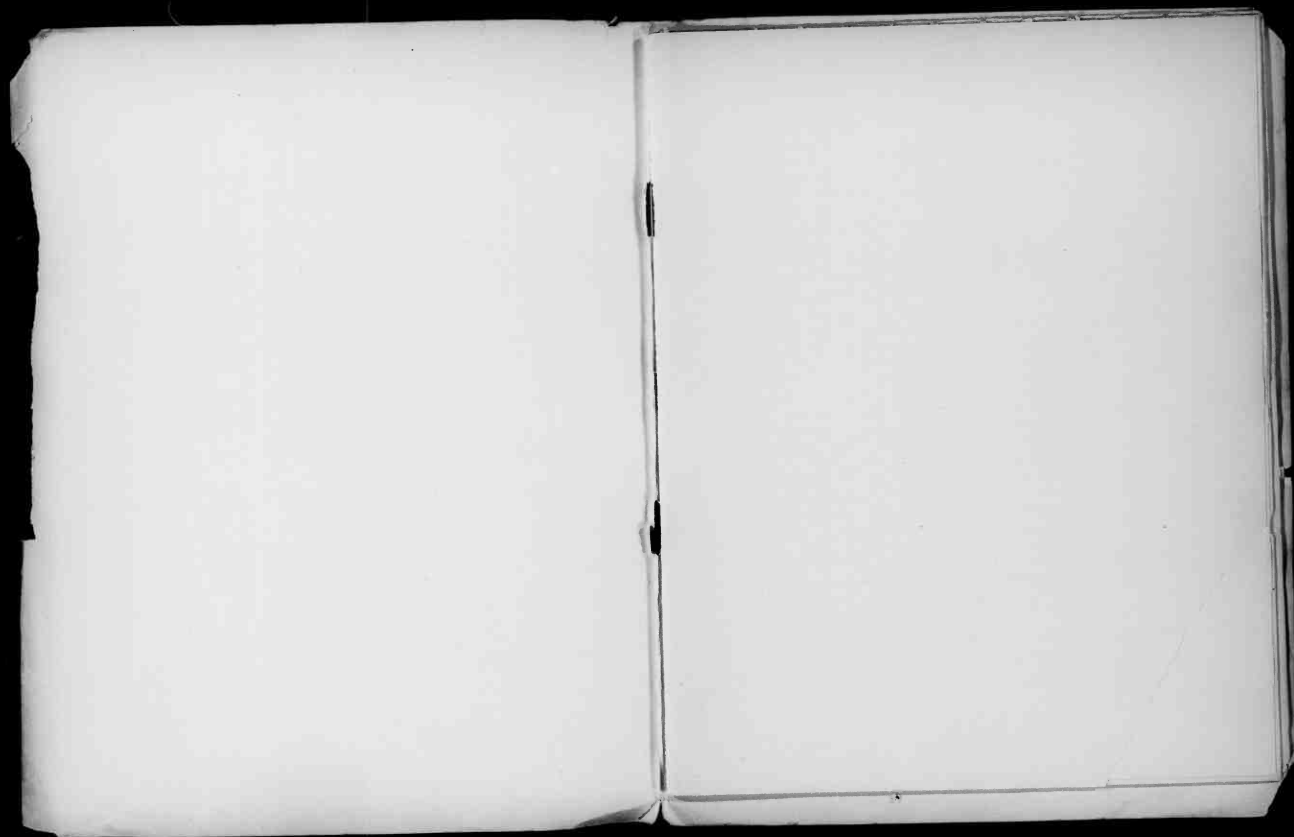
*The Pilgrims of the United States*

*Tuesday, May the twenty-fifth*

*one thousand nine hundred and twenty*

*at*

*The Ritz-Carlton Hotel*



21 July 1920 Jms

To the Pilgrims of the United States belongs by right of custom and of tradition, the prerogative of being the first to welcome at dinner each new Ambassador, on his arrival in this country, just in the same way that the Pilgrims of Great Britain always take the initiative in banquetting every new American Ambassador on reaching London to represent our nation at the Court of St. James.

It was therefore quite in the order of things that The Right Honorable Sir Auckland Geddes, K. C. B., who has presented his Letters of Credence to the President of the United States, should deliver his first public utterance in New York, at a dinner given in his honor by the Pilgrims.

After the customary toast of The Pilgrims, "The President and the King," had been given, with musical honors, the Chairman, The Honorable Chauncey M. Depew, spoke as follows:

"I have here a message from Lord Desborough, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the British Pilgrims.

"British Pilgrims cordially congratulate their American brethren on being the first Society to entertain the new Ambassador as British Pilgrims were the last to speed him on his eventful mission. They feel confident that the dinner tonight will prove to your guest that whatever difficulties may confront him, he can rely with confidence on that Pilgrim feeling which at bottom animates the two countries, and on the remembrance that Americans and British have so lately fought and died side by side.

DESBOROUGH."

And here is a letter from the Secretary of State, Mr. Bainbridge Colby:

"My dear Mr. Cunliffe-Owen:

Supplementing my telegram, in which I expressed my deep regret that I cannot attend the dinner to be given by The Pilgrims

in honor of the British Ambassador, I beg to assure you that nothing but a very definite engagement of long standing prevents my acceptance of your attractive invitation.

I should welcome heartily the opportunity which your dinner would afford to express the very high esteem in which Sir Auckland Geddes is held by our Government. He has quickly made manifest that he brings to this country the candor, good-will and large mindedness which has so strikingly characterized his predecessors. In no better way can the traditional friendship of the people of Great Britain and America be emphasized and strengthened than by entrusting our mutual relations to men of broad vision and sympathetic good-will. Such a man we are rejoiced to find in your guest of honor. Please convey to him my greetings and expressions of cordial regard.

Yours faithfully,

BAINBRIDGE COLBY."

Chauncey M. Depew, President of the Society, then continued:

*Sir Auckland Geddes, Your Excellencies and Fellow Pilgrims:*

Every society has some mission, responsibilities and duties. Our mission and our responsibility is to promote and increase the cordial relations among English-speaking peoples. But we have a privilege that is denied to other societies, and that privilege is, in the mission which we have in hand, to receive and to entertain when he comes, the representative of Great Britain, and to bid him farewell when he leaves our shores. We give him the hail and farewell. But we do more than that. We endeavor in our same mission to entertain distinguished representatives of every branch of English life, Scotch life, of the Islands of Great Britain, and of their Colonies around the seas.

We have been very fortunate in having sent to us from Great Britain very remarkable representatives. They have chosen to send to America people best suited for the mutual relations between

our two countries. We remember with gratitude one, a great scholar and great author, a man of letters, whose book on the American Commonwealth is a text-book in our colleges,—did so much while he was here to make us acquainted with the best that there was on his side of the ocean, while he developed and carried back with him the best we had here. I refer to Lord Bryce. (Applause.) We also have in recent and cordial recollection that brilliant lawyer, that great judge, that remarkable diplomat, that many-sided gentleman, Lord Reading (Applause), and we all had occasion to admire the broadmindedness of the most level-headed man there is almost in the world and that is Lord Grey. (Applause.)

When at the time that the Balkans were being used as a catspaw by the Kaiser, to bring about war, Lord Grey by his extraordinary exertions and wonderful skill, maintained peace which afterwards was broken by the refusal of Germany to accept any more of his friendly offerings,—I asked an eminent member of the House of Commons,—I said to him, "Tell me about Grey." "Well," he said, "Grey is the one man in the House of Commons who when he brings in a proposal and has made a speech supporting it, is never answered because the proposal and the speech are absolutely unanswerable."

But Lord Grey, when he got home from his mission to the United States the past winter, performed another and greater service, addressing to the world through the London Times, a letter in which he said, "We on this side of the ocean want the United States in our Council. We do not care how she comes, under what conditions she comes, what limitations she puts upon herself, what promises she exacts, we want her." The proposition was in a broad way very much like a man who has fallen madly in love with a girl and he says to her, "I want you to marry me, I don't want your money; I don't want any interest in it, now or hereafter; I don't care what your religion is; nor what your politics may be; you can leave the word 'obey' out of

the religious ceremony, or anything else you like; what I want is you for my companion for life." (Applause.) And now, with that same vision which has characterized the Foreign Office of Great Britain, they have sent here the present Ambassador. He meets the requirements of the place, particularly at the present crisis and emergency. He understands us Americans. He has been here frequently, and he knows and speaks the American language. (Laughter.) Then, his career has been, what we think, typically American though it does happen in other countries, which we do not often admit.

Almost every great enterprise in this country, our great corporations, railways, industrial, banking or what not, have at their heads men who have started at the bottom and early in life have reached the top. So our friend becoming a physician and a Professor of Anatomy, moved by patriotism, enlisted in the army, and advanced rapidly in that profession, when the Government discovered that he had other talents which they needed in civil life. Bonar Law, the leader of the Government in the House of Commons, said that Marshal Foch said to him that the most remarkable thing that he knew in the whole history of war and especially of this war, was after the British had been driven back to the Channel, their morale shaken, their regiments depleted and in a generally shattered condition, that they called for the organization of the man-power of Great Britain, and within an incredibly short space of time millions of men were organized; they were sent across the Channel; regiments were filled up, new regiments were added to the army; the munition fields were filled up and new workmen were put there, and that then Sir Bonar Law added, "That great work of organization was done by the best organizer,—the best organizing man we had, Sir Auckland Geddes." (Applause.)

We are now in a particularly nervous condition owing to the results of the war, which adds to the difficulties, because of our nervousness, between the two countries, and it is very fortunate

that the Ambassador is a distinguished physician as well as a Professor of Anatomy. (Applause.)

I have a special tie to the Ambassador, which is personal to myself. Westchester County, as you know,—though I will just now inform the Ambassador about it, is the great county of the State of New York. It was there that most of the events of our patriotic history were enacted. (Laughter.) We up in Westchester, are very fond of each other, and great admirers of each other. Now, then, there are only fourteen miles between Peekskill and Dobbs Ferry,—both in Westchester County. I was born in Peekskill, and the wife of the Ambassador was born in Dobbs Ferry. (Laughter and applause.)

It is quite natural that the world should be in a condition of extreme tension, after the terrible tragedy through which it has gone, and especially with a knowledge of the suffering which remains. We, of the English, I mean of the British, of the Canadians, of the Australians, of the New Zealanders and of the South Africans, fighting side by side, carried on, under the supreme leadership of Marshal Foch, a fight of many weeks with an agreement among us, as allies, with a camaraderie on the field of battle, and a camaraderie off the field and after the battle, and a camaraderie when the war was over, that has never been equalled among allies fighting with each other. But, naturally, and necessarily, when we get home and when the adjustments come, this extreme nervousness produces an irritation which is easily aroused by what in ordinary times would be a mere pin-prick. But, it is always the case in families. It is always the case among relatives. I remember two brothers who had made a wonderful success, and each would tell me privately that he would have made a much greater success if it had not been for his brother,—but if you agreed with the other one, you were his enemy for life.

Now, many of those things have occurred recently which have been taken advantage of by the press, and by the agitators

who want to make trouble. But it shows the difference between families, and those who are not in the immediate family circle.

Some remarks made at Washington made France and Italy mad as hornets, but when sixty-one members of the House of Representatives sent a letter to Lloyd George stating to him that in the interests of civilization and the respect of the world he ought to change his policy and his laws, Lloyd George did not get mad. Lloyd George reminds me more than any other statesman of England that I have ever known, of our friend,—my friend of long ago, James G. Blaine. Lloyd George, when he received the message simply dropped one lid over the optic, and then remarked: "Your election occurs, I think, in about three months. (Laughter and applause.) I have just been through it myself. I hope you will have the same success I did." (Laughter.)

No one can ever tell what is going to happen as the result of a committee of investigation. It never turns out as its promoters intended and very generally they are most disappointed. Now, in the recent investigation of naval affairs, Admiral Sims said that he had been told by the Chief of the Naval Organization, the navy part of it,—he had been told when he went abroad, that he must look out for the British and see that they did not pull the wool over his eyes, and that we would just as soon fight the British as fight the Germans. That testimony shocked everybody on both sides of the Atlantic. It created a sensation, and yet, when Admiral Benson, who was the head of the navy personnel, came to testify, it was the most human utterance of which I know. He said "Yes, I said that, but what I meant was to stir up Sims, who I thought was a little lacking in the energy and enterprise necessary for success. As for hating the British, I love them; the best times I ever had in my life were, enjoying the hospitality of the English. What I was looking forward to with the greatest pleasure when my vacation came, was to go over to England and enjoy that hospitality again," and then, with a tear in his eye, said, "But I can't, because Sims spilled the beans."

Well, my friends, notwithstanding all this,—when history comes to be written, when the story of this wonderful period gets into the libraries and becomes a part of the study of the schools, then all these irritations of a nervous period will disappear. Then will be told marvelous stories of this war, marvelous stories of this navy, the American and British, then will be told that when they came together and worked together for two years there never were two navies where the officers were in such absolute harmony, and the men on such friendly and cordial relations (tremendous applause), where, working together in unity, both of counsel and action, they kept open that channel where millions of men went backwards and forwards,—they kept open one of the seas of the North, they swept away the minefields, and then they did what was practically a miracle, they conveyed over two millions of Americans,—American troops, almost practically without the loss of a man or the loss of a vessel by the ingenuity, by the skill, by the courage, and by the resourcefulness of the American and British Navy working together. (Applause.)

But, my friends, when we look about for the real sources and the foundations of our mutual good-will, notwithstanding the irritations that arise, we can remember that old line, I think, of Sir Walter Raleigh,—“The surface murmurs but the depths are dumb.”

I had the good fortune, and it was a rare good fortune, early in life to spend months in Washington, during the administration of President Lincoln. There are very few, I am astonished to find,—very few there are living, of the hundreds of thousands who met him, who can say that they met and talked with President Lincoln. I was there in a peculiar position. I was Secretary of State of New York, and as such, the legislature had devolved upon me the collection of the soldiers' vote, and New York had in the field nearly 400,000 men scattered in units all over the southern country, and my duty was to find where those units were, and to open the polls, and I was there endeavoring to get



that information, so that the polls could be opened and a vote be had, and I will now say what very few remember, if any remember, that while there were between one hundred and two hundred thousand votes cast, and they all voted for Lincoln, Mr. Lincoln carried the State of New York by only 7,000 majority. But, my friends, I was there in an absolutely unique condition; I stood alone. Every man and woman in Washington wanted something, wanted offices, wanted promotion, wanted privileges, they wanted pardons; they wanted to get to the front. I was there simply to get the information to keep the administration in power. That helped immensely with a man's popularity. It put me on excellent terms at the White House; I got to know very well all the members of the Cabinet, and the leading men in both Houses of Congress. Very remarkable men they were,—Seward, Chase, and the others, and the most remarkable of all was the President of the United States. (Applause.)

Now we have never had presented to us the reincarnation of those individuals, nor the re-creation of the atmosphere of that period. But a young English playwright has done it. I went the other day to see Drinkwater's Abraham Lincoln. It has been played for over two years in London, and is still going, and with crowded houses, and with greater interest than any other play which has appeared during the period. Why is this? Why is this? It is because two hundred and fifty years ago, an English family left Norwich, and came over to America and settled in the wilderness, and the great-grandson of that father and mother, without the opportunities or the training for public life which belonged to greater privileges in the East, had devolved upon him the loftiest position and the greatest responsibility of his period, or of any period, and with marvelous genius, almost miraculous, he saved his country; he re-united his country; he did the things which preserved liberty; he took out of the Declaration of Independence slavery which was in it and made it as free as he could, and then he left to posterity the greatest heritage which one man or any

man, or any power, except Divinity, could leave, and he did that with a resourcefulness, with a charity, with a liberality that has never been exhibited by any great power. What was the lesson? These English people coming night after night and week after week, and month after month to see this exhibition, saw in this marvelous man, that there was one of themselves, who when he had the opportunity, and upon him was devolved the responsibility, met the greatest responsibility of all, no matter under which flag, in any part of this world. (Applause.)

Well, Sir Auckland, you come here at a happy period, because this is the year of the Centennial of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. A little band of English Liberals who could not get either civil or religious freedom in their own country, though they understood it perfectly well, took the perils of the Atlantic Ocean, and came over to see if they could not establish it in the wilderness over here. If they had tried it anywhere in Europe, they would have been hung, but nobody cared for them here, and so they worked out here the story of the problem of liberty. In the cabin of the Mayflower, a few days before they landed, which will be celebrated next December, on the twenty-first, they enacted a charter, the shortest ever written, and the most momentous. "We organize a government of just and equal laws"; that was unknown anywhere in the world. That government of just and equal laws was carried across the continent by the off-shoots of these people, carrying with it the schoolhouse and carrying with it the church until one hundred and odd years afterwards they were strong enough to stand alone, and then they added to "just and equal laws" that marvelous Declaration of Independence,— "All men are created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and then as time went on, those people became a hundred and odd millions, and covered the continent and one of the greatest powers in the world,—still with the lesson and the principles of the charter of the Mayflower and of the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, and in the meantime England had evolved into a Democracy as free as any that there is in the world, and her great colonies around the globe had developed upon lines and institutions the same as ours. Then were gathered the forces of Autocracy,—the forces of militarism and the forces of divine right to crush representative government, and the liberty of the individual. Great Britain and her colonies, France and Italy fought heroically until a crisis arose where they were imperilled. Then, with all the forces, all the might, all the resources, all these other peoples with the same principles on this side of the ocean, were entered into the contest, and we won the battle for representative government and the liberty of the individual.

And, now, my friends, we are under the responsibility of keeping these lessons and these liberties alive in the world, of granting them to those who do not have them, and of defending them for those who have them. But the hope of the world is that if peril ever arises anywhere where those principles are again at stake, that their safety and their defense will be in the English-speaking peoples of this world. (Tremendous applause.)

And, now, my friends, it is my great privilege and honor, and I have the great pleasure of presenting to you the British Ambassador, Sir Auckland Geddes. (Applause.)



#### SPEECH OF SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR EXCELLENCIES AND GENTLEMEN: You have given me a wonderful welcome,—not only here to-night, but ever since I landed on these shores. I appreciate it more than I can say. I am deeply sensible of what it means, and am moved by it, for I realize that it is something much more than a personal welcome. It is an earnest of the friendship, the sincere friendship which you have for the peoples that I have the honor to represent.

It is an extraordinary experience to stand here in this most remarkable of cities, the gateway of a great continent, and to feel that one is speaking as the representative of one quarter of the human race. Even leaving the teeming millions of India on one side, more than half of the peoples represented by the British Ambassador among you, live outside Europe.

He comes to you not only as the Ambassador of countries that are far away, but of one that is your nearest neighbor; he is the Ambassador of Canada, as he is of Australia, of New Zealand, of South Africa, of Islands and Colonies in every sea, and in every continent; and also the Ambassador of the Old Homeland. On behalf of all these peoples I thank you for the welcome I have received from the very moment that I landed upon your shores.

I must confess, Mr. Chairman, that I have looked forward to this evening with some trepidation. Relying upon the well-known discretion of your press, I propose to let you into a secret. Shortly before I left London, I was speaking to Lord Curzon. I cannot, of course, hope to reproduce the words, the phrases or the sentences which he used, but I will tell you in paraphrase what he said. He looked at me sadly, and he said, "Well, you may or may not be a success as an Ambassador, but of one thing you are quite certain when you go to The Pilgrims in New York, you are going to fail as a speaker, because there your poor and halting words will be contrasted with the eloquence of Mr. Chauncey Depew. (Applause.) I was not going to be cast down quite so easily as all that. I said, "Isn't Mr. Depew getting on in years?" Lord Curzon said, "When you get there you will find he is far younger than you are." As we used to say when there was a war on, that affected my morale, and when I got over here, I made a reconnaissance. I heard that our Chairman was in Washington, and relying upon his courtesy and his kindness, I inveigled him into the Embassy, and I saw him alone, and I approached the subject diplomatically. I said to him with a bland voice, "I hope you are well." He said, "I am." I don't think he had the slightest idea

how I felt. My morale was lowered with a sudden jerk. We talked a bit, and I asked him some more questions, wondering whether years affected Mr. Dewey or not. I found they did not. My morale went still lower, and then to get to the subject of speeches—this is where the cruel part came in—I asked him “Does this widespread though not quite universal drought have much effect upon after dinner speaking?” “Oh, yes,” he said, “It makes the replies shorter and rather duller.” Not one word, you will notice, about the proposer’s speech. And then I have heard him to-night, so I am going “hands up” on this oratory business altogether.

I daresay you all know this Scotch story; it is one that I love, a real old chestnut, but I will tell it to you. There was a Scotch clergyman preaching, and he had selected as his text those words, “Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.” He got through the firstly and secondly and so on to the tenthly and the finally and the lastly, and then fixing his eyes upon some gaily dressed young women near the front of the church, he said, “To what end do you pamper your palates and adorn your persons? Is it that you may be a more toothsome morsel for the devouring worm? Oh, I say unto ye, ‘In the great day of Judgment, ye shall lie in torment and in agony writhing on the floor of the bottomless pit. In your pain and bloody sweat ye will cry aloud to God saying, ‘Oh God, God, we didna ken, we didna ken.’ Then God in his infinite mercy will look down from his throne in Heaven and will say,—‘Well ye ken noo.’” (Applause.) That is my position on speaking,—I ken noo.

But, not only that, something much worse has happened to me. I have left my specially prepared packet of wool at home, and I cannot possibly pull it over your eyes this evening. So there is nothing left for me, if I am to speak at all, but to utter some blunt sentences. As this is the first occasion in which I have spoken in New York, and as there are some things which I think should be said, I will ask you to bear with me for a few moments.

I am a Scot, of undiluted Scottish blood, educated in Scotland, and my life has been spent in Scotland, Ireland, South Africa and Canada. I inflict these biographical details upon you with a purpose. I want you to realize that I can see England objectively. I do see England as something quite external to me, and I want to tell you this, that I believe that never in her history has England,—the strict geographical part of Britain which is called England,—been so spiritually great as she is now. (Applause.)

I scan your press and read your magazines, and I find there no realization of this even in articles that are supposed to be describing what is going on in England. I find there no realization of the pulsating new life that is rising within that old shell. You may find England described as militarist, as trying to grab anything within her reach. You men find her described in almost any guise, except the England she is. She has changed enormously during the war. Her people, the English people, as I know them, are intensely anti-militarist; they are seeking peace, they are liberal, democratic, they wish to see prosperity restored to Europe, and they are prepared to make great sacrifices to effect that restoration. You will see,—you have seen, it stated in your press that England is building up a navy to dominate the Seven Seas. That is quite wrong. The facts are these. At the time of the armistice, we had over a thousand ships, mostly small, building, but among them were four great battle cruisers, one of which was the Hood. Immediately it was clear that there was to be no more fighting, six hundred ships were cancelled,—that is, the orders for six hundred ships were cancelled, and the ships themselves were broken up and dispersed. Of the remainder, some three hundred and twenty were so far advanced that they could not be stopped; they were mostly small ships of the trawler or drifter type; they were finished as fishing craft and sold. Not only that, the naval estimates were cut down by 75 per cent. of what they were at the armistice. At the present moment we have not a single capital

ship building or finishing, and not one single boat, large or small, has been laid down since the armistice. (Applause.)

In both our Army and our Air Force, the same type of reduction, the same type of cutting down has been effected. The era of conscription in England is at an end, and the army is back to its pre-war size. Now, that has been done in a world, which as you have said, Mr. Chairman, is nervous and restless. It is no business of mine to contrast what has been done in connection with the British fighting forces with what any other nation has done, but I would ask any of you, if there be any, who are inclined to think that England is militarist, to compare the facts which I have just told you, with facts referring to the similar activities of your own nation. You will read in the press,—you must have seen it, that Britain is preparing or has already prepared to secure, or has already secured a monopoly in the oil fields. Some facts will, perhaps, be useful.

Seventy per cent. of the present oil production of the world comes from your own soil, which in time of emergency can be absolutely controlled by your own government. Sixteen per cent. comes from the soil of Mexico, and of that, American capital controls three-fourths. In ten other countries, American oil interests have either got secure production, or are preparing to develop known fields. In all, you control at present 82 per cent.,—at least 82 per cent. of the oil supply of the world, and the alleged monopolist, Great Britain, from the whole British Empire, only gets  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the world's supply. From Persia, where the oil development is under British control, through British capital having been employed, there is two per cent. of the world's production, and from the rest, Burma particularly, British capital gets another small fraction which brings the total amount of oil under British control in time of emergency up to a total of about five per cent. Now, those facts are uncontrovertible. You may say—"That is all right as a statement of the present position. But, what of the future? Britain has got all of the undeveloped terri-

ories." It really isn't so. I see it stated in your press that Britain is controlling the oil supply of Batoum and Baku. We do not own Batoum and Baku. It is true that there is a handful of British troops at Batoum,—with some French and Italians, but they are not there representing Britain. They are there on behalf of the Allies. Then I see it said that we are going to control the whole of the oil supply of Mesopotamia and the whole of the oil supply of Palestine. We do not own Mesopotamia; we do not own Palestine. It is true that under the draft treaty of peace with Turkey, we are to receive a mandate from Mesopotamia, and that is supposed to mean that we are going to own Mesopotamia, but also under the draft treaty Mesopotamia is made a free and independent country. The trouble arises through the meaning of the word "mandate." There are more kinds of mandates than one, and the sort of mandate which we are to have from Mesopotamia is a mandate which will put us in a position rather like that which you occupy with regard to Liberia, a sort of Big Brother and Best Friend.

Palestine, under the draft treaty with Turkey, is to be the national home of the Jews. It will be owned by them, and only protected by the shield of Britain, and it is said that "Britain has already explored these countries and knows where the oil is." I wish to contradict that most strongly. Exploration for oil, exploitation of oil in these countries has been absolutely forbidden to people of all nationalities during the time that we have been waiting for the decision of the Treaty with Turkey, that is since the armistice and will remain forbidden until governments are set up in those countries.

The latest yarn that I see is that we are building a pipe line from Bagdad or Mosul to Haifa on the Mediterranean, to bring oil from Upper Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean. I wish to state categorically that no such construction work has been undertaken.

Another point with regard to oil, and then I will leave this

subject. We have been heavily attacked recently in this country on the ground that we had been denying to American boats facilities for bunkering oil at certain stations where oil is stored. Now, the foundation of that story is quite simple. During the war all Allied and associate ships were allowed to bunker at Royal Naval Supply Points whether for coal or for oil, and that privilege has been extended from time to time up to the end of April of this year, when it was ended, and since the first of May, no merchant ships at all are allowed to have the facilities of these Royal Naval establishments. Why should they? The British mercantile marine does not expect to have these privileges. The oil is transported there or the coal is transported there for naval purposes. It is not and cannot be given to merchant ships without sacrificing the mobility of the warships, and the demand upon these stores has been enormous. At one port alone 40,000 tons a month were being drawn by your boats, and that oil was being carried in British naval tankers, and as a result our naval estimates were being swollen, though, of course, your shipping people paid for the oil and that came in on the other side of the account as an appropriation in aid.

I have spoken of these oil questions because there is an enormous amount of nervousness on the subject of oil, and there is a great deal of very inaccurate speaking, and writing about it on both sides.

I do not wonder that people are anxious about it. Quite obviously oil is of great importance to the future, and I would say this, that if I saw any chance of any combination of British companies in securing a monopolistic control of oil, I would be against it. During the war and since in Europe there has only been one country that had coal to export, and that was ourselves. For my sins I was responsible for a time for administering that British monopoly. We tried to be fair about it, but believe me, with the best will in the world, it is too great a power to put into the

hands of any one man, or any one interest, national or commercial. I had that experience, and I know how dangerous it is.

Now, England is not striving,—Britain is not striving to get a monopolistic control of oil. Her companies are active. I hope they are. Fair competition is no crime, and it will be all for the good of every one if we have free competition in connection with this important, this vital substance.

Britain is looking now in another direction from those things of which I have been speaking. She is looking inward; she is engaged upon the great work of trying so to adjust the relations between capital and labor that she will achieve the end of giving equal opportunity for education and for health, to rich and poor, to high and low. She is engaged in trying to build up again the Europe that has been shattered by these years of war. She is engaged in trying to secure peace in Europe, peace between warring sects and warring sections and warring nations. She is engaged in trying to save civilization in those parts of Europe in which it is threatened or in which it is actually collapsing. Those are the thoughts which are uppermost in the mind of England, and I would beg, I would pray, and I would beseech any one who at this time can help in that work, to give such help as they can. I would say if you have oil to pour, select troubled waters and not smouldering fires for your libation. (Applause.)

Take a recent instance where the fire has been selected in preference to the water. Continental Europe we all know is in desperate financial difficulties. It is written that the British Government is trying to pool the war debts of Europe and to drag you into the pool. You will look far for any evidence to support that suggestion with regard to England's desires, England's wishes, or England's intentions. It is sheer mischief making that is going on.

Take again Ireland. I have nothing to add to or nothing to subtract from the words I used with regard to Ireland on the day I landed in this country. They were carefully weighed, and so far as I can learn they have not been misunderstood anywhere. I

hope that all who may feel conscientiously constrained to judge or to express judgment, will study them in their uttermost implication.

England, Great Britain and the British Nations beyond the Seas are working as best they can to restore the pre-war prosperity which was theirs, and which was the world's. They are working in close harmony with those who were their Allies in Europe. But they realize that not only the Allies, but also some that were their enemies are necessary partners in this work of restoration, and so, as enemies of none now,—not even to Germany, England and all the associated nations that form with her the British Empire, are looking forward to a future of friendly co-operation in Europe.

Our whole foreign policy is directed towards securing peace, towards extending the bounds of freedom, towards lightening the load on the oppressed, towards restoring the material prosperity of the world. Those are the principles which I gladly take as my guides in my day's work here in representing the British nations among you, and I come to you as a Pilgrim from a far off land, as the representative of the peoples of lands both near and far, to deliver a message that is breathed by countless hearts.

Will not you, America, who at the end helped so mightily in the war against militarism, in the war for freedom that you and we and our Allies together secured victory, will you not stand in with us and help to reap the real fruits of victory? (Applause, and Cries of Hear! Hear!) You and we together have seen a world crumble before our eyes. Someone has to rebuild a world for men to live in. Our Allies and enemies are more spent than you or we. We and they are doing our best, but the work is not easy, and then, this is added to the message,—but if you in your own judgment feel that you cannot help, please try to understand what we are doing, and please try to believe that the burden that we are bearing is very heavy; that none of our actions are directed against your interests; that none of our actions have any intention but the betterment of this world. (Tremendous applause.)

There is one thing more that I would say. All the British nations wish to be friends with all your peoples. I hope,—I do hope, that nothing will be done, and nothing will be said which will make that hard.

It remains for me now merely to thank you for the great honor which tonight you have done to me personally. Cordially and sincerely I thank you. (Applause.)

—♦—

CHAUNCEY M. DEFEW: Gentlemen, I think we might offer three hearty Pilgrim cheers for the splendid message which the Ambassador has brought us. Are you ready?

The cheers were given with immense enthusiasm.

SIR AUCLAND GEDDES: I thank you very much.

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